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COMPOSITION OF THE FIFTH COLUMN

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31 May 1949

Composition of the fifth column, by Maj L. W. Pflanz, Sig C. Command and General Staff College. 31 May 49.

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BRIEF OF MONOGRAPH

COMPOSITION OF THE FIFTH COLUMN

Louis W. Pflanz, Jr.
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BRIEF OF MONOGRAPH

COMPOSITION OF THE FIFTH COLUMN

The scope of this paper embraces the composition of a fifth column within a democracy and potential democratic fifth columns in totalitarian countries. In many instances the only available material on the composition of a fifth column and related activities were those of fifth column activities in the U.S. In order to explore thoroughly all kinds and types of people who compose a fifth column it was necessary, at times, to use as examples, fifth column activities in the U.S.---which is another monograph subject.

A fifth column is composed of people, either individual or collectively, whose activities take place within a nation although planned and instigated by a foreign power. These activities are designed to weaken a country's political concept and structure, economic stability and military strength in order to destroy that country from within, to conquer it through itself, before and during an overturn of its government, by internal forces or by military operations directed against it by the foreign power. These activities fall into two phases ---operations prior to the outbreak of a revolution or hostilities and assistance after the beginning of revolution or hostilities.

Before it can be determined what kinds and types of people compose a fifth column, the two catagories or fields of endeavor which compose fifth column activities---fifth column for espionage and sabotage, and fifth column for propaganda---must be thoroughly understood.

Fifth column for espionage and sabotage must be secret or at least attempt to be so. Fifth column for prop-

aganda must operate largely in the open even though its purposes and controls remain secret. It must, therefore, appear to be quite innocent and concerned solely with things that appeal to all men of good intentions; to be loyally patriotic, while it actually and untiringly is un-patriotic.

However, there is an area where these fields overlap. Sabotage as well as being violent also can be "go-slow", can be faulty work so that parts do not fit, or equipment not delivered because of misdirection of shipments. Propaganda can cause not only the same things, but a work stoppage and its primary objectives which are to split a nation into a thousand warring factions by means of sharply differentiated economic pressures combined with political intrigue.

In this connection such things as the cold war, war of nerves, psychological warfare and economic sabotage all contribute to the weakening of a nation's political concept and structure, economic stability and leadership among other nations of the world and are an integral part of fifth column activities.

It is difficult to determine the composition of a fifth column. Before any action, aim, or determination of an internal group or party, whose thoughts and purposes are opposed to popular beliefs, current policy, and accepted criteria, can be considered as fifth column activities it must first be determined that they are motivated by a foreign power and are not the honest efforts of a people of a country to progress towards better government, better leadership or a better way of life.

Before any fifth column activities can take place within a country, a foreign power must first plant professional operatives having subterranean contact with

superior officers at home or at some intermediate post of command.

The methods of planting agents within a country are not consistent. The pattern is different for the country in which they are to operate and varies with the specific field that agent is assigned. Some of the ways they can be sent into a country are as diplomatic and consular representatives, members of military and economic missions, students, scholars, refugees, immigrants, tourists, visitors, crews of ships and aircraft, and as professional and scientific men.

These agents are the key people in an elaborate underground system mainly devoted to propaganda and espionage, but also to potential sabotage. They are the organizers and must utilize the aid and assistance of people within the country who can be classified as volunteers, reluctants, and innocent dupes.

a. Volunteers are those people who knowingly and actively participate. They include: the foreign born and unscrupulous nationals who sell their services; all who are sympathetic to the aims, efforts, and ideals of the foreign power and who contribute their services; those intellectuals who place their own ambitions and self-seeking arrogance ahead of national good; and those types of people who are always found on the fringes of society ---the cheap petty grafter, the stupid who are easily influenced and easily lead; the thrill seeker, and the small town big-shot.

b. Reluctants are those who do not aid or assist of their own free will. They are forced to participate, either actively or passively, by exploitation of high pressure tactics such as coercion, blackmail, brutal beatings, intimidation, kidnappings, or threats of

reprisals against friends or relatives within the country or in the homeland.

c. Innocent dupes are those people, from all walks of life, some of whom have been hoodwinked into believing that the aims and ideals of the foreign power are concerned solely with things that appeal to all men of good intentions. They are recruited easily by painting the goal or end in glowing terms of justice, security, equality, brotherhood, peace and democracy. They are used to unwittingly exert influences on the masses and contribute incidental services and moeny. Others, who have not been hoodwinked, are used as innocent dupes by the exploitation of their reputation, ideals, position in life, and influences.

In order to accomplish fifth column objectives, agents and their assistants must exert influences upon labor leaders, political parties, management, financial experts, cultural societies, civic clubs, the press, the radio, the theater and movies, educational systems, governmental agencies, the armed forces, and racial and religious groups. All these must be put at loggerheads within themselves and with each other in order to split a country into a thousand warring factions. Once this is accomplished, the ultimate objective---the overturn of a government---is not too difficult.

To assist in exerting influences many types of organizations are either founded or existing organizations infiltrated. Examples are the popular front, secret police, party organizations, cultural societies, fraternities, and lodges.

Many actions, occurrences and events in varied fields are embarked upon by nationals of two or more nations for the mutual benefit of the participants with-

out premeditated subversive implications. As example: international financial agreements between private business firms, banking institutions, cartels and the like. However, when control of these agreements is gained by a totalitarian government, these agreements can be utilized to further fifth column activities.

It is not probable that democratic countries will deviate from national policies and attempt to overthrow existing totalitarian governments. Hence, the definition of a fifth column as set forth in the beginning of this paper and all the activities incident thereto will not be instigated by them.

Nor will it be possible for democracies to employ all the methods of penetration or exert all the influences which the totalitarian countries are able to do within democracies.

Great limitations will be placed upon activities because of the control exercised by totalitarian countries over the press and radio, lack of freedom of speech, presence of secret police, restrictions on travel and movement, and swift elimination, without fair trial, of those who disagree.

However, the democratic countries should have no scruples in their efforts or methods. For when one is dealing with a regime such as the Soviet he must adapt his standards to theirs and Russia had proved that she obeys no laws, creeds, or has srcuples.

The present lack of a professionally run propaganda machine of militant intelligence work constantly weakens democracy's influence in the field of diplomatic maneuvering. Perhaps if we were able to make Moscow's little miseries big and the big ones bigger, Russia would think twice about pushing us about in Berlin. If they knew

we were capable of penetrating the Iron Curtain and creating dissention and mistrust behind it then, at last, we would talk a language the Politburo can understand.

COMPOSITION OF THE FIFTH COLUMN

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COMPOSITION OF THE FIFTH COLUMN

DEFINITIONS AND QUALIFYING TERMS

A fifth column is composed of people, either individual or collectively, whose activities take place within a nation although planned and instigated by a foreign power. These activities are designed to weaken a country's political concept and structure, economic stability and military strength in order to destroy that country from within, to conquer it through itself, before and during an overturn of its government, by internal forces or by military operations directed against it by the foreign power. These activities fall into two phases---operations prior to the outbreak of a revolution or hostilities and assistance after the beginning of revolution or hostilities.

Differentiating between those activities planned and instigated by a foreign power and the honest efforts of a people to progress towards better government, better leadership, and higher standards of economic stability or a citizen of a democracy exercising his inalienable right to freedom of speech, is a difficult task.

Therefore, before it can be determined what kinds and types of people compose a fifth column, the two catagories or fields of endeavor which compose fifth column activities must be thoroughly understood. These are: fifth column for espionage and sabotage, and fifth column for propaganda.

Fifth column for espionage and sabotage must be secret or at least attempt to be so. The popular conception of espionage activities is a spy, generally a beautiful female, luring government officials or high ranking military men to betray secrets of defensive works, new

weapons or military operations. Sabotage portrays a picture of an automobile containing officials exploding mysteriously in the street, a railroad bridge blown sky-high or a public utility plant somehow out of order. Relatively few people have been drawn into such espionage and sabotage activities against their own country as treason is regarded as one of the most heinous offenses that can be committed and traitors portrayed as most despicable characters.

Fifth column for propaganda must operate largely in the open even though its purposes and controls remain secret. It must, therefore, appear to be quite innocent and concerned solely with things that appeal to all men of good intentions; to be loyally patriotic, while it actually and untiringly is un-patriotic. Members and sympathizers are recruited easily by painting the goal or end in glowing terms of justice, security, equality, brotherhood, peace, and democracy. Thousands of gullible people have been hoodwinked into joining or aiding this type of fifth column.

However, there is an area where these fifth column fields overlap. Sabotage as well as being violent also can be "go-slow", can be faulty work so that parts do not fit, or equipment not delivered because of misdirection of shipments. Propaganda can cause not only the same things, but a work stoppage and its primary objectives, which are not, as many believe, to bring about a pro-government to power in a nation's capitol, but to split that nation into a thousand warring factions by means of sharply differentiated economic pressures combined with political intrigue. Once this is accomplished, the ultimate objective of all fifth column activities---the overturn of a government---is not too difficult.

In this connection, such things as the "cold war", "war of nerves", "psychological warfare" and "economic sabotage" all contribute to the weakening of a nation's political concept and structure, economic stability and leadership among other nations of the world and are an integral part of fifth column activities.

INCEPTION OF FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES

The rising exorbitant costs of war demanded a cheaper substitute for war. Nations sought to save their treasuries the price of highly expendable military materials and to prevent the slaughter of their people.

For the price of a single aircraft carrier it is possible to finance a year's stay of almost 10,000 agents in a foreign country; a single bomber costs as much as publishing a daily newspaper for a whole year. Why should a nation expend 200 to 400 billions for the conquest or colonization of an African or Russian wilderness when there are such splendid chances to conquer, from within, developed areas of a rich nation with but a fraction of that sum?

Thus, undercover, undeclared combat is a substitute for more costly armed conflict. The saboteur, the espionage agent, the secret agent, the storm trooper, the terrorist, the member of a popular front organization---call them what you will---is now referred to as a fifth columnist. In keeping with their mission and as a cheaper substitute for armed conflict these fifth columnists must fester all walks of life of a country, all political parties, cultural societies, organs of propaganda such as the press, radio, theater and movies, educational systems, civic clubs, governmental agencies and even the armed forces. All these groups must be

put at loggerheads within themselves, must be thrown into confusion so that a foreign power can transmit its aims and objectives. This process can be likened to a physical and biological process. Foreign bodies penetrate the circulation of a country, gain a foothold and give rise to disease and infirmity until a country can no longer resist the infection and can be absorbed by the foreign power.

During the first phase of German assault she did not fire guns, but news; did not bombard with explosives, but with peace offers; did not paralyze the industrial centers or the traffic lanes, but the fighting spirit of her prospective victims. The Russians have gone considerably farther and have developed the technique into a real science. No one could fail to be impressed by the efficiency of the machinery which brought about a Communist coup in Czechoslovokia last year, or more recently by the disturbing and unpredictable far-reaching effects which the Communist strikes in France are having on the morale and economy of that nation.

ENTRY OF AGENTS INTO A COUNTRY

Before any fifth column activities can take place within a country, a foreign power must first plant professional operatives having subterranean contact with other secret-service agents and with superior officers at home or at some intermediate post of command.

The methods of planting operatives within countries are not consistant. The pattern varies with the specific field that agent is assigned and is different for the country in which they are to operate. These professional operatives do not know the entire plan of their government, nor do they know all their fellow agents.

Many are not entirely trusted, hence one agent is sometimes engaged in merely watching another.

Some of the ways these professional agents and special corps of organizers can be sent into a country are as diplomatic and consular representatives, members of economic and military missions, students, scholars, refugees, immigrants, tourists, visitors, crews of ships and aircraft, and as professional and scientific men. (See Annex No. 2.)

MISSION OF AGENTS

These agents are the key people in an elaborate underground system mainly devoted to propaganda and espionage, but also to potential sabotage. They are the organizers and must enlist the help of a number of sympathizers who in some instances may be in their employ, but who most certainly are either under their control or who can be imposed upon to do their bidding.

Each of these sympathizers is expected to contribute services, not necessarily secret. Those less audacious or clever can be propagandists while still others are asked to do nothing but await "the day when"---which may be years away.

The agents and those who aid and assist engage in such devices as disruptive propaganda, malicious rumors and lies, artificially created opposition movements, bribery, corruption, intimidation and the collection of information. The methods they use to exert influences and gain footholds embrace all human frailities, ambition and delusion, party squabbles, and self-seeking arrogance. The utmost use is made of human vices rather than human virtues. People of all walks of life, especially leaders, are picked as possible converts or

innocent dupes. (see Annex No. 2.)

An outstanding example of a combination of these concerns the late President Roosevelt. In 1933 the Germans began preparing a character study of him. Every habit and opinion of the President, every psychological characteristic was subjected to the most painstaking scrutiny. By 1936 the Nazis concluded that he was dangerous to their cause and undertook a campaign of psychological sabotage against him with the object of discrediting him and undermining his influence with the American people. They unleashed an incessant stream of provocative rumors and poisonous slanders directed against his personal character and political philosophy. No lie was too grandiose, no vilification too obscene. In 1933 this campaign reached its height and culminated in an "Impeach Roosevelt Campaign". Many political opponents, yet sincere Americans, unwittingly added fuel to the fire, to the delight and rejoicing of the Nazis.

In order to pick possible converts or innocent dupes, Nazi agents were guided by a questionnaire which was drawn up by Hitler himself. (See Annex No. 3.)

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OF FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES

> The day is irrevocably past when the laconic woodchopper fashioned a private philosophy for himself in the solitude of the frontier. Today we not only all attend the same schools; we hear the same radio programs, see the same films, read the same magazine stories. In modern society, developed along the lines of strict division of labor and specialization, that which we call "public opinion" is a product of experts. A gigantic machine turns out the patterns of opinion, the coined judgements and even the most personal passions. Whose, if not the intellectuals' business is that unceasing production of idealogy? They are educated to do it and paid for this very job: not only to speak for the less articulate and otherwise occupied masses, but also to create and guide their dreams, opinions and passions.

This complex machinery which manufactures idea

> for the nation, just as Ford and General Motors produce its automobiles, operated by thousands of intellectuals, requires, like its counterpart, its own peculiar kind of transmission belts. Within every society, be it ever so democratic, there is a relatively small group of intellectuals who give that society its tone and character. What one thousand professors, writers, bishops think, write, preach is handed on by three hundred thousand teachers, journalists, and ministers to the 140 million Americans and forms the consciousness of the entire nation. The process is as inconspicuous as it is overpowering. Just cut off these thousand key intellectuals out of the national body politic and the nation will, within a few years, have a completely changed complexion. [2]

By converting these intellectuals as sympathizers to totalitarian ideals or using them as innocent dupes, the agents of a foreign power have a convenient method to spread the poison propaganda and influence the masses. Influence the labor leaders, management, the financial experts, cultural societies, civic clubs, the press, the radio, the theater and movies, the schools and colleges, political parties, governmental agencies, the armed forces and racial and religious groups. (See Annex No. 4.)

EASE OF FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES IN A DEMOCRACY

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, the inherent lethargy of democratic people towards security, the loopholes in democratic laws, and many other minor factors all afford fifth columnists an easy task.

Any laws curtailing freedom of speech or press and the spreading of propaganda would themselves serve to destroy a democracy.

Hitler's spies found that collecting valuable information within democracies was relatively easy. It is related that the agents assigned the task of obtaining detailed layouts of all new American military installa-

[2] Schlamm, This Second War of Independence. page 78.

tions in 1941 and 1942 never left the bright lights of New York. They merely read all magazine articles, business summaries, strike comparisons, military articles, studied advertisements, listened to debates in Congress, read the Congressional Record, or listened to lectures by high ranking American officers in an "expansive mood" before a sympathetic business club audience.

There was little need to open safes at midnight in guarded buildings; few plans had to be stolen. The new Garand rifle had been kept so secret that in 1937 and 1938 a small foreign power offered $10,000 to any international spy who could obtain copies of the blueprints. No spy earned the money. In August 1938 the American Rifleman magazine published an article written by a U.S. Army officer which not only contained pictures and statistics, but blueprints as well!

Since the press, the radio and the movies are under no censorship they sometimes unintentionally give voice to totalitarian aims and purposes. While Germany prepared for war, while her industry produced immense quantities of arms, Hitler's magnanimous offers of peace received a publicity for which not even Germany's ministry of propaganda could have paid. Being of news value, his offers, time and time again submitted at psychological moments chosen by a master strategist, furnished front-page headlines for all democratic daily newspapers, was further carried over the radio and printed in many magazines. These peace offers thus brought to the attention of the public furnished the timely topic of conversation for debate in many homes and impeded democratic efforts to prepare for war.

If a foreign agent is apprehended, either for sabotage, espionage or communistic activities, the legal sys-

tem and laws are such that their trials can make mockery of legal efforts to punish them. The best examples of the difficulties in conducting such trials are evidenced by the one now in progress in New York, and the spies who were apprehended in 1942 and not brought to trial until 1946. Meanwhile they were out on bail freely traveling about the country, no doubt, just as active as they were before they were seized.

Fifth columnists run little risks in operating propaganda mills. They are allowed to publish pamphlets, newspapers and leaflets to the limit of their budgets. They can create front organizations by the hundreds, fold them up again, merge them, split them---whatever they like. The embassies of the totalitarian countries are allowed to issue so-called information bulletins or invite democratic peoples to visit the beauties of communistic industry and culture. They are free to blow their horn, criticize the democratic way-of-life and generally throw propagandist monkey wrenches into governmental, social, and economic machinery.

POTENTIAL DEMOCRATIC FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES IN TOTALITARIAN COUNTRIES

It is not probable that democratic countries will deviate from national policies and attempt to overthrow totalitarian governments. Hence, the definition of a fifth column as set forth in the beginning of this paper and all the activities incident thereto will not be instigated by them. Nor will it be possible for democracies to employ all the methods of penetration or exert all the influences which the totalitarian countries are able to do within democracies.

Great limitations will be placed upon activities

because of the control exercised by totalitarian countries over the press and radio, lack of freedom of speech, presence of secret police, restrictions on travel and movement, and swift elimination, without fair trials, of those who disagree.

However, in order to combat fifth column activities in their own countries, democracies should not overlook the opportunity to inform the Russian people of their attitude and thoughts in upholding their way of life or their world policy as compared with that of the Russian.

Furthermore, they must insure that such information really does reach the Russian people and the people of her satellite countries, and that they understand the full and true significance of it. In other words, to break through the Iron Curtain and reach the ears and the minds of the ordinary prople and convince them of the falsehood of the doctrine which their own government is proclaiming.

The principle task is to first find and contact people within Russia and her satellite countries---and such people must exist, even if only in small numbers. These people can be contacted through intelligence channels. Prepare them with necessary material and spiritual encouragement, to put democracy's case forward in the underworld of political, industrial, and social life. The democratic countries should have no scruples in their efforts or methods. For when one is dealing with a regime such as the Soviet he must adapt his standards to theirs and Russia has proved that she obeys no laws, creeds or has scruples.

Use should be made of the methods which the communists have perfected: clandestine underground radio transmitters, newspapers and leaflets that are secretly

published and secretly read, word-of-mouth agitation. Moscow's big and little miseries should not be forgotten, nor the chance be missed to make the little miseries big and the big ones bigger.

The offensive should be planned with greater wisdom and in more detail than past military operations. America can begin to take the lead in this offensive by:

a. Closely supervising the volunteer work now being done by commercial radio companies in the foreign field of short wave broadcasts, not just "Voice of America" stations.

b.Providing a particularly hardboiled section of a foreign propaganda service to see that the movie industry produces films of all kinds that really are American propaganda films. The present crop of semipatriotic, semicommercial efforts is a menace to American morale and American propaganda abroad.

c. Supplying all American exporters, by a propaganda service, with leaflets and slogans to be included in all their shipments abroad.

d. Giving correspondents of friendly countries in the U.S. greater news facilities and small foreign newspapers that cannot afford American correspondents or cable tolls should be directly or indirectly subsidized.

e. Using volunteer morale ambassadors to carry American propaganda abroad by personal contacts. They must possess necessary tact, courage and personality for the job. They should be picked from all walks of life and not because they have political pull or are politicians.

f. Considering the Iron Curtain as a barrier to getting propaganda into, rather than talk of it as preventing news from coming out.

The present lack of a professionally run propaganda

machine of militant intelligence work constantly weakens democracy's influence in the field of diplomatic maneuvering. Perhaps if we were able to start fires in Russia's back yard which will keep her so busy with the fire hose Russia would think twice about pushing us about in Berlin. If they knew we were capable of creating dissention and mistrust behind the Iron Curtain then, at last, we would talk a language the Politburo can understand.

CONCLUSIONS

1. It is difficult to determine the composition of a fifth column. Before any action, aim, and determination of an internal group or party, whose thoughts and purposes are opposed to popular beliefs, current policy, and accepted criteria, can be considered as fifth column activities it must first be determined that they are motivated by a foreign power and are not the honest efforts of a people of a country to progress toward better government, better leadership or a better way of life.

2. Before any fifth column activities can take place within a country a foreign power must first plant professional operatives having subterranean contact with superior officers at home or at some intermediate post of command.

3. The methods of planting agents within a country are not consistent. The pattern is different for the country in which they are to operate and varies with the specific field that agent is assigned. Some of the ways they can be sent into a country are as diplomatic and consular representatives, members of military and economic missions, students, scholars, refugees, immi-

grants, tourists, visitors, crews of ships and aircraft, and as professional and scientific men.

4. These agents are the key people in an elaborate underground system mainly devoted to propaganda and espionage, but also to potential sabotage. They are the organizers and must utilize the aid and assistance of people within the country who can be classified as volunteers, reluctants, and innocent dupes.

a. Volunteers are those people who knowingly and actively participate. They include: the foreign born and unscrupulous nationals who sell their services; all who are sympathetic to the aims, efforts and ideals of the foreign power and who contribute their services; those intellectuals who place their own ambitions and self-seeking arrogance ahead of national good; and those types of people who are always found on the fringes of society---the cheap petty grafter, the stupid who are easily influenced and easily lead; the thrill seeker; the small town big-shot.

b. Reluctants are those who do not aid or assist of their own free will. They are forced to participate, either actively or passively, by exploitation of high pressure tactics such as coercion, blackmail, brutal beatings, intimidation, kidnapping or threats of reprisals against friends or relatives within the country or in the homeland.

c. Innocent dupes are those people, from all walks of life, some of whom have been hoodwinked into believing that the aims and ideals of the foreign power are concerned solely with things that appeal to all men of good intentions. They are recruited easily by painting the goal or end in glowing terms of justice, security, equality, brotherhood, peace, and democracy. They are

used to unwittingly exert influences on the masses and contribute incidental services and money. Others, who have not been hoodwinked, are used as innocent dupes by the exploitation of their reputation, ideals, position in life, and influences.

5. In order to accomplish fifth column objectives, agents and their assistants must exert influences upon labor leaders, political parties, management, financial experts, cultural societies, civic clubs, the press, the radio, the theater and movies, educational systems, governmental agencies, the armed forces, and racial and religious groups. All these must be put at loggerheads within themselves and with each other in order to split a country into a thousand warring factions. Once this is accomplished, the ultimate objective---the overturn of a government---is not too difficult.

6. To assist in exerting influences, many types of organizations are either founded or existing organizations infiltrated. Examples are the popular fronts, secret police, party organizations, cultural societies, fraternities, and lodges.

7. Many actions, occurrences and events in varied fields are embarked upon by nationals of two or more nations for the mutual benefit of the participants without premeditated subversive implications. As example, international financial agreements between private business firms, banking institutions, cartels and the like. However, when control of these agreements is gained by a totalitarian government, these agreements can be utilized to further fifth column activities.

8. Potential democratic fifth columns in totalitarian countries will not be able to employ all the methods of penetration or exert all the influences which total-

itarian countries are able to do within democracies. Their activities will be curtailed by the control exercised by totalitarian countries over the press and radio, lack of freedom of speech, presence of secret police, restrictions on travel and movement, and swift elimination, without fair trials, of those who are opposed to totalitarian ideals and policies.

ANNEX 1

ANNEX No. 1

Pflanz

COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF OPERATIONS AND TRAINING

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

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Regular Course, Phase V, 1948-49

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SUBJECT: Composition of the Fifth Column.

REFERENCES: Hambro, I Saw It Happen in Norway; Dies, The Trojan Horse in America; Rollins, I Find Treason: The Story of an American Anti-Nazi Agent; Laski, Where Do We Go from Here?, Ch 3; Committee for National Morale, German psychological Warfare; Rauschning, The Voice of Destruction, Chs 1, 5, 11; Taylor, "How America Can Take the Offensive", Fortune, May 1941; Schlamm, This Second War of Independence, especially Chs 4, 7, 8; Possony, "The French General Staff", The Infantry Journal, Nov 1941; Maurois, Tragedy in France, Ch 4; Rowan, Terror in Our Time; The Secret Service of Surprise Attack.

NOTE TO STUDENTS:

1. The references above are furnished to give the student enough material with which to begin his research. It is anticipated that the student will make use of all other available sources in order to give adequate scope to his subject and, when appropriate, to complete development of the subject to date.

2. The scope suggested below is intended as a guide only, and is not to be construed as a limitation on the student's perusal of the subject.

SCOPE:

1. Origin and meaning of the term. ("An organized internal group cooperating with the exterior attackers on a planned program of military operations". - Pratt, America and Total War, p 53.)

2. Influence of class stratification, racial differences, and revolutionary convictions in formation of fifth columns.

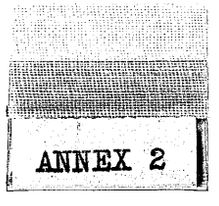
3. Membership.

4. Innocent accomplices: intellectuals and others.

5. Organization: political parties, secret police, consular establishments, etc; finance.

6. Abuse of democracy by the fifth column.

7. Potential democratic fifth columns in totalitarian countries.


ANNEX 2

ANNEX No. 2

ENTRY OF AGENTS INTO A COUNTRY AND

MEANS OF ACHIEVING OBJECTIVES

Diplomatic, consular, military and economic mission representatives. The easiest and quickest method of gaining access to a country is to send operatives in as diplomatic and consular representatives and on military and economic missions. The use of these representatives is, of course, the crudest way of carrying out such activities as these prople are normally well known and are generally subject to close scrutiny. However, to further the activities of other fifth column agents through the use of codes, diplomatic pouches and transfer of funds, they are extremely valuable. In addition, they are most active in talking with leading nationals and hence can obtain information concerning the private lives and views of these men as well as expound the views and idealogies of their own government.

Students and scholars. Students and scholars are easy to send into a country. Practically every large college and university has its foreign student group. During the 1930's many universities of countries, that were not even suspected of being under Hitler's influence, invited along with Germany, approximately 500 American professors and 3000 American students to a year's study in Europe at practically no cost at all. In return a reciprocal offer was made. Even though the countries were not under Hitler's influence some of their universities were and specially chosen "students and professors" were admitted to America for the same period. In the year's time these carefully selected agents accomplished many things and made many friends. Their main purpose was not to spy or

commit sabotage, but to spread propaganda and idealogies and ferret out the younger element who could be easily molded and would be valuable when contacted later by other agents.

Refugees and immigrants. Refugees can be one of the most dangerous elements. Many paid operatives can be sent in to pose as such. Others, who are not professional operatives, participate either because they are in sympathy or because they fear reprisals against their relatives or families left behind if they fail to take orders. Immigrants lend a fertile field to all activities. Before the war, at least 14 million inhabitants of the U.S. were born in Europe; thus since the majority of them are above 25 years of age one may conclude that at least 15% of America's adult population has, in one way or another, some direct relations with the old world. Taking into account the second generation of these foreign born people (to say nothing of the third) a majority of America's adult population was considered by the Nazis to be a fitting target to make them fatherland conscious. Thus, as far as America was concerned, every country that Hitler subjugated gave him a greater hold over the American people. A great part of this foreign element was forced into a position of well-disposed neutrality towards the Nazis, not because of any agreement with their political philosophy, but simply because their sentimental nostalgia for old world songs, folklore and customs was exploited by high pressure tactics. Those who rebelled or showed too much patriotism towards the American ideals or aims were reminded by the American branch of the Gestapo with unmistakable hints that certain relatives still

living in the old world would be rather pained to learn of this resistance. In some cases blackmail, kidnappings and brutal beatings were resorted to on these people in American cities.

Hitler proved that not only German-Americans were involved, but the peoples of every country under his control. America must not only look in askance at the Russian refugees and immigrants, but those from every country under Russian control or influence.

Tourists and visitors. Tourists can visitors can be employed to gather information and spread propaganda. Their mother country has very excellent means of controlling or forcing them to engage in these activities. They are not permitted to travel or reside abroad until they have been carefully investigated and approved by party authorities and enrolled in party organizations abroad.

They can be further controlled by the issuance of short-term passports, by limiting the amount of money they are permitted to take with them and by the indirect control of their property within their home country. The threat of reprisals against their families and friends can also be employed.

Some very excellent espionage work is accomplished by these tourists and visitors as evidenced by Germany's disguised naval officers engaged in summer yachting, thus getting to know harbors and coastlines even without the aid of navigation lights; or the large family groups who had their pictures taken with every bridge, harbor or military installation in the background.

Crews of ships and aircraft. Crews of ships and aircraft can be used as couriers for collecting and transmitting information both into and out of a country. Airline

crews can be used for active reconnaissance over their routes. The FBI found that after each large foreign passenger ship docked in New York America was subjected to printed propaganda, the German and Italian societies had additional supplies of arms, ammunition and uniforms and known agents would visit the ships.

Some of the ships' crews jump ship and thus enter illegally, however, they are equipped with false passports or false birth certificates.

Professional and scientific men. Many fifth column objectives can be accomplished in the most innocent manner. Perhaps it could be classified as psychological sabotage as its purpose is to confuse, disrupt, undermine morale and spread doubt. Use is made of the doctor, scientist, manufacturer, amateur photographer, geologist, labor leader---in fact every walk of life and every trade, hobby or business is involved. International organizations are formed and members are called to their respective congresses held in countries in Europe, all participants to be the welcome guests of the foreign government. What possible connection can anyone find between the collecting of stamps, the playing of chess, the exchange of medical information and politics? Hundreds of patriotic, well-mannered, respectable citizens accept such offers. They are well treated, permitted to see only what has been planned for them to see and upon their return quite truthfully report their experiences in their own influential circles. From then on they refuse to believe any conflicting story, condition or action that may be reported in the American press. After all, weren't they over there and saw for themselves----?

Meanwhile the people who remain at home are also given the opportunity to get acquainted with foreign visitors. Successful businessmen, scientists, actresses and the common workingmen are enabled to spend their vacations abroad. Germany used this method to perfection. Most of her visitors of this type were not paid or professional agents, but innocent dupes who had good manners, who assured America of their own heartiest good will and admiration. They ridiculed the latest "fifth column" stories and departed punctually when their visas had expired. Countless Americans came into contact with these visitors and considered them as very nice people.

This psychological sabotage can be extended to the economic and professional fields by not even having any paid agents or innocent dupes enter the country. Scientific papers can be exchanged by mail, interspersed by propaganda; amateur radio operators in their world-wide contacts can be influenced. Economic stability can be affected by banking firms and cartels operating in a third country. This is covered more in detail in the discussion on Spheres of Influence of Fifth Column Activities.

ANNEX 3

ANNEX No. 3

COLLECTION AND EVALUATION OF INFORMATION
OF PERSONS AND INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

Nazi agents in foreign countries concentrated on obtaining information about leading people of all walks of life in order to determine if they could be classified as possible converts to Hitler's cause or used as innocent dupes. Hitler revealed the Nazi collection effort when he described his card index file as follows:

> I have drawn up a questionnaire covering details of persons I am interested in. I am having a comprehensive card index compiled of every influential person in the world. The cards contain every detail of importance. Will he take money? Can he be bought in any other way? Is he vain? Is he sexual? In what way? Is he homo-sexual? That is of the utmost value, because it provides close associations that can never be escaped from. Has he anything in his past to conceal? Can he be subjected to pressure? What is his business? His hobby, his favorite sport, his likes and dislikes? Does he travel? And so on. It is on the strength of these reports that I choose my men. That really is politics. I get hold of men who will work for me. I create a force of my own in every country.°

The answers to such a questionnaire are not always easy to obtain. Many prominent or influential men do not make their personal life an open book. Throughout the ages from Biblical times to the present, both in the game of national politics and in business associations, women have been used to decided advantage. Amongst nations this is done not only for heads of states and dictators, but for powerful bankers, politicians, and generals. To gain influence over the men who matter, to get information about them, their passions, their tastes, their friends, their way-of-life, women sometimes play a critical part. All this is no fevered fancy, no plagiarism from spy fiction, but historic reality.

°Rauschning, Herman, The Voice of Destruction. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1940, page 276.

It has been related that years prior to the invasion of France, Germany knew more about Daladier's weaknesses than the French Premier's own cabinet. They also knew all there was to know about Neville Chamberlain and other statesmen who might aid or menace the Axis cause.

Such an Index was not confined solely to individuals, but embraced practically everything of importance. The most exhaustive being Germany's "Index of American Industry" which was so complete that it contained comprehensive summaries of war plants. Not only what they manufactured, but also named and classified each individual worker as to his political, racial and religious background, what he had done in the past, at present doing, and what he might be utilized to do in the future, his loyalty and international sympathies. According to the FBI, who learned of this "Index" in September 1941, the information included therein was in many respects more detailed than could be found in a factory's home office.

ANNEX 4

ANNEX No. 4

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

Economic, financial and commercial. It is difficult to follow ramifications of the influence of international banking and commercial firms. This influence, which is considerable, is one of the most usual ways of fostering the primary objectives of fifth column activities. It is a subject all by itself and may be classified as economic penetration. It can be described briefly as the manipulation by a foreign power of the business and economic ties that connect its economy with those of other nations.

America is a large, modern, industrialized, capital-exporting nation. It has a complex, closely integrated, and delicately balanced industrial process. Individual men and small groups---whether in the ranks of management, in labor organizations, or in public service---commonly possess an amount of economic power disproportionate to their numbers. Annually recurring tie-ups in the coal industry provide more than sufficient evidence on this point. In such a closely integrated and delicately balanced economy certain types of actions, notably strikes in key industry, transport tie-ups and maladroit credit regulations, can speedily precipitate economic crisis.

Disaffected persons in key positions requiring some degree of technical competance have extraordinary opportunities for taking actions that can lead directly to economic confusion. Simple "errors of judgement" could serve the purpose and need not ever be connected with foreign influences.

To secure effective control of the American labor movements has long been the aim of fifth columnists.

It has not been until recently that inquiries regarding labor leaders' political beliefs and concepts have been investigated. Many revealing newspaper stories and magazine articles have conclusively proved the ease in which labor organizations have been penetrated and swayed by foreign interests.

Cultural societies and civic clubs. Influences can be exerted through the medium of these organizations whose members are innocent of any subversive purposes. They are organized for the legitimate and honest purpose of promoting cultural development between the two countries to their mutual cultural advantage, usually in the fields of literature, art and music. Many of these societies have existed for a long time and have enjoyed a wide reputation for professional international cultural exchange. Control is subsequently gained through political maneuvering within the society itself, and the organization may then be used to further the eventual overthrow of the existing regime.

Organs of propaganda. The press, the radio, the theater and the movies are all fertile fields for fifth columnists to disseminate their aims and objectives and to influence public opinion.

Naturally, the foreign language press is an obvious medium for influencing the thought of alien minorities, but the very obviousness probably keeps it from being as effective as a subsidized or controlled press. An effective way to implant stories is for a foreign government to furnish a news service which disseminates free copy. In addition some small town newspapers have been purchased outright by foreign capital or placed under

other forms of subsidy.

When control of an entire paper is not practicable for any reason, it is possible for one page to be purchased. However, the most effective use of the press for dissemination of propaganda is the front page of large well-established truly American newspapers. This is achieved through "foreign correspondents" planted in neutral capitols to give flavor of authenticity.

Foreign language radio broadcasts, especially in Europe, have been more effective than the medium of the press in preparing the ground work for eventual military operations. Very entertaining programs are interspersed from time to time with particular national versions of news. However, the broadcasts are usually crude and mendacious, but they owe whatever success they may have to repetition.

Few Americans listen to foreign broadcasts as our radio programs provide sufficient variety and entertainment for practically all tastes. Therefore, fifth column propaganda must be written into the scripts of the programs or included by the many news analysists.

The same is true for the theater and movies. The quality of plays and movies far surpasses those of foreign countries so that any dissemination of propaganda must be included in the American productions. A congressional committee investigation of last year revealed the efforts being made by a foreign power in these two industries.

Educational systems. In addition to the propaganda spread by foreign students and scholars entering a country, fifth column activities can be exercised within the educational

systems themselves. Amoung those activities already attempted and in actual operation is the control of subject matter of textbooks prescribed for public schools, the organization of teachers in elementary schools (mostly under the guise of obtaining higher wages) and to a lesser extent the organization of staff and faculty members of colleges and universities for the purpose of implanting totalitarian ideas and gaining support of communist doctrine.

In addition, every college activity, fraternity, and society is being exploited today as a sphere of influence for fifth column activities.

Racial and religious groups. A country that has racial or religious groups that form a minority offers excellent opportunities for the stirring up of intense feeling against that group and against the governemnt. This fertile field has not been neglected in the U.S. Every day the newspapers carry accounts of religious factions or racial groups slandering each other, accusing each other or intensifying campaigns for their causes. Some of these groups have been so infiltrated that they wittingly and some unwittingly spread the poison. In many instances those who are innocently involved are just as useful, though blind to threatened dangers of their actions, as they are sincere in their own motives and are therefore more easily able to convince others.

Many religious leaders, the world over, their voices reaching the multitudes of their religion, wittingly or unwittingly preach the communist doctrine. The communists have drawn a clever, diabolical parallel between religion and communism. Instead of a diety

there is the state, the party is the saviour, souls are represented by the proletariat, religious services are substituted by meetings of the party, the holy days are the national holidays, rituals and symbols are represented by salutes and busts of Lenin and Stalin---each part of religion has its counterpart in communism including salvation and eternal life.

Political parties. The influences exercised in the political field can best be illustrated by considering recent political events in America. Prior to the recent national election a serious threat to the present two-party system was witnessed by the rise of the Third Party. This Third Party, a dynamic combination of all dissatisfied political, social, national and racial groups, was a strange, but highly efficient alliance of all imaginable "isms". Incipient peace lovers advocated that pacifism can prevent war; farmers labored under the illusion that agreement with impovished (impoverished) totalitarian countries would force farm prices to a new high; industrialists hoped that America would rid herself of unionism, while certain labor leaders expected to bring about full union control over industry; some economic thinkers hopefully thought that America, brought into competition with European dumping methods, would be forced to discard the last remnants of social legislature; national and religious minorities cherished the illusion that they themselves would eliminate their minority status by taking the lead in discriminating against the other national and religious minorities; and above all the Communists worshipped the illusion that they would be able to be in power in America. Every illusion remained in insoluble conflict

with all the others, but the new party had room for all because it did not appeal to reason, but to a confused emotion or a vicious hatred.

The average American treats lightly such a Third Party because he believes it has little chance of victory. However, it achieves its fifth column objective of splitting a nation into many social and national factions.

Influence is not confined solely to Third Party activities. Infiltration is made into existing parties with ease. Does the average voter know for whom he votes? This is best answered by the community that actually voted a mule to their city council by believing some pranksters who actively campaigned for it as if it were an honest, law-abidding, well-meaning politician.

Governmental agencies and the armed forces. The ultimate aim of all fifth column activities is to destroy a country from within, to conquer it through itself. What more fertile spheres of influence could be offered than by infiltrating governmental agencies and the armed forces.

During America's mobilization for the war many strange and mysterious actions and decisions within these two fields hampered her efforts. Consider the "OHIO"--over the hill in October campaign; the government's decision in 1941 to discharge all soldiers who could not walk 25 miles in 8 hours with a full pack; and the many recent congressional investigations of communists in governmental agencies. Examples of such activities, in many of the other countries of the world can be cited and have been proven to be fifth column activities.

ANNEX No. 5

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